

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 HONG K 08775 021421Z

51

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03

RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 OMB-01 NIC-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 IO-13

CU-04 RSR-01 /133 W

----- 122516

O R 021015Z SEP 73

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8063

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC

DIA

DA

CINCPACAF

CINCUSARPAC

COMUSTDC

CG US FORCES KOREA

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 8775

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

DIA FOR DI4

DA FOR DAMI-FIE

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT CH

SUBJ: WANG HUNG-WEN'S SPEECH AT TENTH PARTY CONGRESS: DOMESTIC
ASPECTS

REF: HONG KONG 8773

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HONG K 08775 021421Z

SUMMARY: WANG'S SPEECH, ALTHOUGH IT SHOULD BE VIEWED IN THE CONTEXT

OF A NEGOTIATED ARRANGEMENT FOR THE CONGRESS, CONTRASTS MARKEDLY WITH CHOU EN-LAI'S POLITICAL REPORT. WANG IS MILITANT AND CRITICAL, AND HIS REMARKS APPEAR LINKED TO CONTROVERSIES AIRED IN PRC MEDIA JUST PRIOR TO THE CONGRESS. END SUMMARY

1. WANG HUNG-WEN'S REPORT TO THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS ON THE CONSTITUTION, PUBLISHED BY NCNA SEPTEMBER 1, SHOULD BE READ WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONGRESS AS AN ORCHESTRATED, DOUBTLESSLY NEGOTIATED AND COMPROMISED, ARRANGEMENT. IT IS PROBABLY ALSO CORRECT TO MAKE ALLOWANCES FOR WANG'S REMARKS AS THE MAIDEN SPEECH OF A POLITICAL CINDERELLA, ONE WHO MUST ESTABLISH HIS CREDENTIALS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL AS A REVOLUTIONARY SUCCESSOR. WITH THAT SAID, WANG'S SPEECH MARKEDLY CONTRASTS--AND AT SEVERAL POINTS TAKES ISSUE--WITH CHOU'S POLITICAL REPORT (REFTEL). FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS ASPECTS SEE SEPTTEL.

2. IN CONTRAST WITH CHOU'S MODERATION AND TEMPERANCE ON DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, WANG'S SPEECH IS MILITANT, BARELY RESTRAINED IN ITS EMBRACE OF MASS POLITICS, AND VISCERAL IN ITS APPETITE FOR STRIFE. (CHOU BY CONTRAST, CALLED FOR "MENTAL PREPARATIONS" TO MEET FUTURE INTERNAL POLITICAL STRUGGLES, WHICH HE, TOO, PREDICTS.) STRUGGLE RUNS THROUGHOUT WANG'S SPEECH, AND HE SAYS THAT IT IS THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF THE NEW REVISED CONSTITUTION (WHICH WE WILL EXAMINE SEPARATELY).

3. WANG INCLUDES THE STRUGGLE AGAINST LIN WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, WHICH CHOU OMITTED TO DO, AND HE IS MORE PRAISEFUL OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND LOOKS FORWARD TO MANY "GREAT POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS" LIKE IT IN THE FUTURE. HE SECONDS CHOU'S CALL FOR DARING TO GO AGAINST THE POLITICAL TIDE, BUT HIS PERSPECTIVE IS DIFFERENT. HE APPEARS, FOR EXAMPLE, TO CORRECT CHOU'S BROAD IMPLICATION THAT THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE LIN AFFAIR WERE AMONG SUCH TIDES. WANG ASSERTS THAT MAO'S LINE HAS BEEN "PREDOMINANT" THROUGH THESE EVENTS, AND HE DOES NOT BUY CHOU'S VIEW THAT A MAJORITY OF PEOPLE SUPPORTED "CERTAIN WRONG LINES OR WRONG VIEWS" AT THE TIME. INSTEAD HE PREFERS TO SAY "MANY PEOPLE" DID. (BY "WRONG VIEWS" WANG APPEARS TO BE ALLOWING FOR A CATEGORY OF NON-LIN ASSOCIATED MISTAKE-MAKERS.)

4. WANG GIVES THE SAME WATCHWORD AS CHOU IN CITING MAO'S DICTUM AGAINST INTRA-PARTY PLOTTING, AND INDEED THIS NEGATIVE-SOUNDING

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HONG K 08775 021421Z

COMMENTARY ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS WITHIN THE PARTY HAS BEEN ADDED TO THE NEW CONSTITUTION. BUT WANG CHOOSES TO SINGLE OUT THE FIRST OF THE "THREE DO AND THREE DON'TS," ARGUING THAT IF ONE WILL "PRACTICE MARXISM AND NOT REVISIONISM," THEN HE WILL BE ABOVEBOARD AND FOR UNITY. BY THIS STANCE, HE APPEARS TO BE SETTING UP A SYLLOGISM WITH THE MAJOR PREMISE BEING THAT ALL REVISIONISTS ARE PLOTTERS, AND NOT THE CONVERSE. WANG MAY BE SERVING THIS UP AS A CONVENIENCE FOR THE OUT-AND-OUT CONSPIRACIES AND INTRIGUES THAT

HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT AND DOUBTLESS WILL CONTINUE WITHIN THE RADICAL CAMP. WANG HOLDS UP REVISIONISM AS THE "MAIN DANGER TODAY," AND HE WARNS THAT THOSE WHO INTRIGUE AND CONSPIRE PUT UP "FALSE FRONTS, WHICH MAKES IT ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT TO DISCERN" THEIR TRUE NATURE.

5. WANG DISCUSSES THE TRAINING OF SUCCESSORS IN THEIR "MILLIONS," A FEATURE IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION, AND HE ALSO TALKS OF THE GENERATION GAP BETWEEN THE OLD REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE NEW. HE MANAGES THIS GENERALLY WITHOUT STEPPING OUTSIDE FAMILIAR TERMS OF REFERENCE, ALTHOUGH HE DOES STRESS SELECTING LEADERS FROM AMONG WORKERS AND PEASANTS WHILE OMITTING ANY MENTION OF SOLDIERS. THIS TILT IS CURRENTLY FAMILIAR IN SOME PRC MEDIA, BUT NOT TO BE FOUND IN THE CONSTITUTION. (WANG HIMSELF IS A LABOR LEADER, AMONG OTHER THINGS.)

6. WANG ENDORSES STRONG LEADERSHIP BY THE PARTY AND SUBORDINATION TO IT BY ALL OTHER INSTITUTIONS, AND HE ADVANCES CHOU'S DENEGRATING TREATMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES BY WARNING THAT THEY MUST NOT REPLACE PARTY LEADERSHIP. WANG SUGGESTS THAT SOME REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES HAVE BECOME A "JOINT CONFERENCE" COMPOSED OF "SEVERAL SECTORS," AND THAT THIS HAS BEEN CRITICIZED AND MUST CEASE. HE ALSO HITS AT "MOUNTAIN-STRONGHOLD SECTIONALISM" AND ONE-MAN RULE, AND HE CALLS FOR A SPARTAN WORK-STYLE THAT ESCHEWS PRIVILEGE AND INFLUENCE-PEDDLING. HERE, WANG USES THE PHRASE "GOING IN BY THE BACK DOOR" WHICH FIRST APPEARED PUBLICLY IN THE ATTACK ON THE UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT EXAMINATION, AND WHICH IS ALSO LINKED TO SLIGHTLY EARLIER CRITICISM OF THE YOUTH-TO-THE-COUNTRYSIDE PROGRAM.

7. WANG'S SHARPEST ATTACK ON THE CADRE IS OVER FAILURE TO ACCEPT CRITICISM AND SUPERVISION FROM THE MASSES, A CONCEPT WHICH HE SAYS WAS FIRMLY ESTABLISHED BY THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. WANG ATTACKS A SMALL NUMBER, "ESPECIALLY SOME LEADING CADRE, WHO WILL NOT TOLERATE DIFFERING VIEWS FROM THE MASSES. THEY EVEN SUPPRESS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 HONG K 08775 021421Z

CRITICISM AND RETALIATE, AND IT IS QUITE SERIOUS IN SOME INDIVIDUAL CASES." (IN CONTRAST, CHOU MORE TEMPERATELY CHIDED PARTY COMMITTEES FOR TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO ROUTINE AND "MINOR MATTERS.") WANG CALLS FOR USING "THE WEAPONS OF AROUSING THE MASSES...BIG CHARACTER POSTERS...GREAT DEBATES..." METHODS, OF COURSE, WHICH GAVE HIM HIS START DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. WANG, LIKE THE CONSTITUTION, DOES NOT GO INTO CURRENT ECONOMIC POLICY.

8. THIS AIRING OF DIFFERENT VIEWS AND GREATER MILITANCY MAY WELL BE INDICATIVE OF A REASON FOR THE UNUSUAL BREVITY AND SECRECY OF THE CONGRESS. WE LINK THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY WANG WITH SOME OF THE CONTROVERSIES WHICH WERE REFLECTED IN PRC MEDIA JUST PRIOR TO THE CONGRESS. IT NOW REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHEN AND WHERE THEY WILL RAISE THEIR HEADS AGAIN.
OSBORN

NOTE BY OC/T: CU TREAT AS ORIGINAL.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY MEETINGS, CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, EXTREMISTS, PARTY DISSENSION, PARTY LEADERS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 SEP 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973HONGK08775
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS OSBORN
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: HONG KONG
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730958/aaaabqhm.tel
Line Count: 171
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: HONG KONG 8773
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23-Jul-2001 by reddocgw>; APPROVED <09-Nov-2001 by elyme>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: WANG HUNG-WEN'S SPEECH AT TENTH PARTY CONGRESS: DOMESTIC ASPECTS
TAGS: PINT, CH, (WANG HUNG-WEN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005